

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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NO. 10.

What It Has Done.

Slavery for thirty years has been hostile to and aggressive upon the free institutions of America. There is not a principle embodied in our free institutions, there is not an element in our Government that elevates or blesses mankind, there is not anything in our Government or our institutions worth preserving, that Slavery for a generation has not warred against and upon. It smote down, thirty years ago, the right of petition in these Halls. It destroyed, in large sections of the country, the constitutional freedom of the press. It suppressed freedom of speech. It corrupted presses, churches, and political organizations. It plunged the Nation into a war for the acquisition of slaveholding territory. It enacted a fugitive slave law, inhuman, unchristian, disgraceful to the country and the age. It repealed the prohibition of Slavery over half a million of square miles in the central regions of the continent. It seized the ballot-boxes in Kansas, it usurped the government of the Territory, it enacted inhuman and unchristian laws, it made a slave constitution and attempted to force it upon a free people, it bathed the virgin soils of that magnificent Territory with the blood of civil war. It mobbed, flogged, expelled, and sometimes murdered Christian men and women in the slaveholding States for no offence against law, humanity, or religion. It turned the hearts of large masses of men against their brethren, against the institutions of their country, against the glorious old flag and the Constitution of their fathers. It has now plunged this Nation into this unholy rebellion, into this gigantic civil war that rends the country, and stains our waters and reddens our fields with fraternal blood!—[Senator Wilson.

The trial hour of Institutions is near at hand. All the institutions which even Christianity has set up have proved failures, or racking wheels of torture for human souls.—[Warren Chase.

If He Would But Do It.

If the President would but give fair play in this conflict, there would be but little trouble. If he would let one General act untrammelled in behalf of justice as well as another in behalf of Slavery; if for every General whom he has permitted, unrebuked, unreprimanded, to issue military orders protecting Slavery, returning fugitive slaves, violating the law of Congress, he would also permit another General to issue orders protecting the fugitives, and setting free the slaves; this impartiality would be all that many of the friends of justice and humanity would ask; for the quarrel would speedily be settled. A single order like General Hunter's, grand, clear, decisive, if permitted to work, unhindered, unrevoked, would finish the rebellion, would let out its heart's blood, would bring every State back into a free Union. But President Lincoln is partial. He modifies and revokes the orders against Slavery, but sanctions and executes the orders in favor of Slavery. If there is a doubt, he throws it, not on the side of freedom, as a good ruler and judge is bound, not only by religion and humanity, but by the Constitution itself to do, but gives it to the side of Slavery.

—[Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, D. D.

A Better Day Dawning.

There are indications that old creeds, old systems, old despotisms, old doctrines of man and conceptions of God, are rapidly crumbling, one after another, into chaos. A change is coming over the world. Men and Nations may remain dumb and blind to their own interests, and temporarily false to the rights of enslaved and weeping Humanity. But the Sun of Wisdom is rapidly rising, and even blinded eyes shall soon see that Constitutions, Institutions, and Theories, are valuable only so far as they subserve the common welfare, and feed the progressive life of the whole family of man.

—[Progressive Annual.

Pro-Slavery Logic Overhauled.

MR. EDITOR:—I send you the following from a friend of mine, as a fair statement of some of the positions taken in defence of the "peculiar institution," and append a few remarks by way of taking out the kinks in the logic:—

"Theoretically I am an emancipationist, while practically I am pro Slavery. I long for the day when all men, irrespective of color, birth or nation, may stand on equal ground in the pursuit of knowledge or happiness; and I think the abolition of Slavery would not only be practicable, but would be certain to ensue if the world contained a sufficient number of persons with devotion and principles like yours, to influence public opinion; to make chastity and justice popular, and throw disgrace upon selfishness and avarice.

"In the present state of civilization and enlightenment, (barbarism and darkness) the abolition of the tie between master and slave would only bring loss to the master and entail misery on the servant. It would be removing an evil, positive but comparatively light, by substituting another evil more grievous in its nature, and much harder to be borne: although a few individual blacks might better their condition, the mass would find nothing in nominal liberty to compensate them for the affectionate tie that now exists between master and servant. You must admit this tie to exist, when you reflect on the affection that a man feels for even a valuable horse that has been long in his possession, and then think what his affection must be for a servant that played with him in infancy and childhood, served him in youth, worked for, obeyed and respected him in mature age, and depends on him in the winter of life for a shelter, well earned, against the storms that darken and overwhelm the old age of so many of the poor. The obligations between master and slave are mutual; the slave is cared for in helpless infancy and inconsiderate youth, is clothed and fed and finds time for amusement in manhood, and is relieved from care in helpless old age. The master's benefits are easily understood. It is not to be supposed that the abolition of Slavery would elevate the slave above the condition of the ignorant poor in free America. See what that is! The employer endeavors to have as much work done as possible, for as small an outlay of means as the necessities of the employed compel them to accept. The health or even the life of his servants is of very little consequence to him; and if the servant's skin be black, he entertains a prejudice against the color that weakens the tie already much too weak between master and servant. When man is willing to pay his fellow man for labor in proportion to the profits derived from the labor, instead of cutting him down to the lowest sum his necessities compel him to take, it will be time enough to abolish the tie which exists in the South between master and servant.

"In the present war we of the South think we are fighting to maintain constitutional liberty, and sustain the rights bequeathed to us by our revolutionary forefathers—not the right to hold our slaves

more than the right to govern ourselves. We do not want to be governed by the people of other States, who do not know us and do not understand our wants, merely because they are numerically superior to us, and we will not consent to be slaves to their caprices, if a determined resistance will prevent it. We think we occupy the position of our Fathers in the old contest; and that the North takes the stand that England then took."

Nearly all advocates of Slavery begin by assuming the thing under controversy, namely: the right of one human being to decide for another the life he shall lead. This is the essence of Slavery: for if one person has no right to compel the service of another, he has no right to judge for him what life is best for him to lead. To do this is to assume the prerogative of a slaveholder. If one man has the same right as another to the fruits of his own earnings, then a black man has a right to be his own judge of what position he will assume in society. And it is for him to decide whether it is best for him to be a slave or not.

We of the North assert the rightful freedom and equality of mankind—Equality in rights, not necessarily in capacities;—a proposition which is either true or untrue. If true it follows as a corollary, that each man must determine for himself, not for others, what will best conduce to his own happiness and improvement. And till this fundamental proposition is met, as to the equality of human rights, no one has a right to assume a position which involves the question at issue.

If my friend B. thinks slavery the best position for him, he has a right to choose a master. If he thinks it best for the colored man he has a right to so advise him, and if he can convince him of the fact there can be no objection. But there his jurisdiction ends. There must be no force in the matter. One must not assume the attitude of slaveholder while the rights of the slave are under consideration. The rightfulness of the position must be proved, not assumed. When you say the colored man is happier as a slave than as a freeman, you express your opinion in the matter, which is of no practical importance, inasmuch as in the nature of the case no man can judge for another. The slave is the rightful judge of what will best conduce to his own happiness, and he has a right to indulge his own notions, however chimerical they may appear to others, and sacrifice if need be his happiness to the experience he would gain—the chances for happiness in freedom.

It therefore amounts to nothing even if you could prove, which in the nature of the case you cannot, that the slave is happier, as a slave than as a freeman, inasmuch as every man has not only a right to be his own judge of what is best for him,

but a right so far as others are concerned to choose a lower condition, if he pleases. Do you say the free black is shiftless and lazy? He has a right to be lazy at his own expense. If he earn but ten dollars a year, and supports himself on that, it is his privilege to do so. It were a sorry chance for white folks, and especially for Southerners, if only the industrious and energetic had a right to freedom. The principles by which Slavery is defended would reduce nine-tenths of the white race to eternal bondage.

Human beings are or are not entitled, in the nature of things, by the fact of existence, to certain rights. If they are, then all men are entitled to them, which makes slavery impossible. If they are not, there are no such things as rights for anybody, for there are no principles on which to base them.

My friend speaks of the ties of affection between master and slave which would be severed by freedom. Now if there are any such ties worth speaking of—ties stronger than the greed of gain on the one hand and the love of freedom on the other, there will be no wish to leave on the part of the slave, nor desire to prevent it, by force, on the part of the master. Emancipation is not for such. Bear in mind, gentlemen of the pro-Slavery school, that Slavery is not voluntary but involuntary servitude. Do you say that the slave is happy and contented—that he would not leave his master if he had an opportunity? I will not indulge in the hard names which tempt me right here, but say: Prove your faith by your works. If you believe this you can have no reasonable objection to the trial. Take your hands off and settle the thing by ocular demonstration. I don't believe the story. If you do, put it to the test. That is all I ask. Whips and chains and blood-hounds and Fugitive Slave Laws don't square well with this theory. There must be no such "ties" as these. "Affection" must not bring in such awkward auxiliaries as these but must stand on its own merits.

You of the South have appealed from the Constitutional guaranties to the platform of National Rights and moral justice. Whatever you can secure under that head is yours. If you can make a bargain with the slaves to serve you for life, for nothing, do it. But remember that what the Constitution made things, God made men: and among men it takes two to make a bargain. The slave must have a voice in the matter, and we of the North will see to it that you do not stand over him with a club in your hands while you make it.

Is this tyrannical? What are governments for, if not to protect men from such wholesale robbery and outrage as Slavery? What is brotherhood,

fraternity, manhood, worth, if it stand by and see such violence done to all that is manly in man and womanly in woman as Slavery implies and necessitates? Is it tyranny for a man to interfere between a highway robber and his victim? Is it tyranny to interfere for the victims of an institution which strikes down at one fell blow every human right, every manly attribute?—a system which justifies and implies every crime in the catalogue—robbery, rape and murder? Are we tyrants for doing this now, or are we sneaks and cowards and villains for not doing it before? Methinks that when we of the North are called to answer at the bar of Eternal Justice, for the part we have enacted in reference to this hell-born system, the charges standing against us will not be those of meddling fanaticism, but mercenary cowardice or heartless indifference, if not open complicity with crime.

Let us look a little farther at this back-handed, pro-Slavery logic. "It is time enough to abolish the tie between master and slave when employers (at the North or elsewhere) are willing to deal justly with the employed, and give them the full results of their labor." Now it strikes me that it is better to have half of what one earns than none at all. It is certainly a curious shift to turn one over to a system which does not recognize a man's right to any of his earnings, to protect him from liability to petty thievery and swindling. The lack of a disposition to do justice between men, is just the thing which makes Slavery so dangerous and prolific of evil. If men had no disposition to defraud their neighbors, the power to enslave would do no harm, for they would have no temptation to use it, and the law which permits all manner of atrocities would remain a dead letter and bring no harm.

Man is everywhere selfish, everywhither prone to abuse power over his fellow. In the North that power is limited, and the disposition to over-reach and defraud is check-mated to a certain extent. The principle of a man's right to his earnings is recognized; and if it is violated to some extent, it is done by evasion of its application, not by denial of the principle. In the South that spirit of selfishness pursues its object openly, and without that deference which vice, young and unhardened, always pays to virtue, in a blush at a direct violation of right, and an effort at compromise by evasion. Slavery is the culmination of all that is selfish and mean and devilish in man, and something is gained for humanity when from the sense of shame, if nothing else, men feel compelled to seek similar ends by less direct and outrageous means.

I say then, first, that the Negro himself, and not my friend or me, is the one to decide, practically,

whether the condition of Slavery is better for the Negro than freedom. Secondly, the Negro has decided, or will decide, when he has the opportunity, in favor of freedom. There can be no reasonable doubt of this. Therefore, thirdly, he has a right to his freedom. Fourthly, if he has a right to his freedom, it is an outrage on all that is right, to enslave him; and every principle of humanity and fraternity demands that we see that he has his rights guaranteed. Fifthly, the disposition of man to be selfish and defraud his neighbor, is the strongest possible argument against Slavery. Sixthly, wrongs existing at the North are no excuse for, or mitigation of, the wrongs of Slavery. Seventhly, these wrongs at the North are not so grievous as at the South, for there is not one of them but is embraced by, or springs from, and finds its support in, Slavery. Eighthly, Slavery being the greatest of human wrongs, and in spirit and principle the parent of all wrongs, it becomes our duty to strike first at this, because in itself it is the greatest, and because when the spirit of Slavery is killed out, the vitality of all the lesser wrongs is destroyed also, and in striking at this, we aim a blow not at one evil only, but at all, through this the mother serpent of all iniquities.

In answer to the statement that the South occupies the position of our Fathers, and the North that of England, I will say, our Fathers struck, at least in profession, for the liberty of man as man—the natural freedom and equality of “all men”—propositions which you of the South deny, and pronounce “glittering generalities.” This so far as the question of Slavery is involved, is the issue now between North and South. For the further amplification of my ideas on this point, I refer to “The Right of Secession,” in No. 2 of the *NEW REPUBLIC*.

C. M. O.

Wonders of the Universe.

On a clear night, probably not less than five thousand stars are visible to the naked eye. These seem to be sown all over the heavens in promiscuous irregularity—here, thick as sands on the ocean shore; there, thinly scattered, enabling the eye to play through those incalculable distances, and yet so seeming near. By the aid of the telescope our vision is extended further; and there, stretching out, orb beyond orb, through measureless infinity, are sweeping worlds and systems of worlds that seem to play about like bubbles on the ocean's wave. Herschel, while directing his telescope towards the Milky-Way, saw five hundred thousand worlds sweep before his eye in a single hour! And then, when we contemplate that a globe like ours could not be seen beyond our Solar System,

and that every star we see is a sun like ours, around which doubtless worlds revolve, it greatly enhances our ideas of the extent of space through which our eye must wander in order to “gain a ken” of those far-sweeping worlds!

Light moves at the rate of 200,000 miles in a second of time; and Sirius, the nearest fixed star, is so far distant that it would require a ray of light, moving with that extreme velocity, forty-one thousand five hundred and ten years to reach our world! Suppose a telegraphic wire were strung from Sirius to our earth, and the inhabitants there (if there be any) wished to communicate a thought to us: they start the swift-winged lightning on its course, laden with the thought they wish to have it bear. How many generations would sweep by; how many empires fade; how many mountains bow their granite heads and ocean's beds be dry, ere that electric flash would reach its destined end! Forty-one thousand five hundred years! How the mind reaches forth in vain to comprehend these mighty ages, and that still more incomprehensible distance!

Living as we do on this globe, we are accustomed to contemplate the heavens as stationary; nor are we at first able to comprehend the surprising velocity with which we are sweeping through immensity. Observations and mathematics prove that we, on the surface of our planet, are moving with it on its axis at the rate of eighteen miles a minute, and with it in its revolution around the Sun one thousand one hundred and forty-two miles a minute! Besides this, Humboldt tells us that our whole Solar System is sweeping around its center of gravity at the immense speed of four millions of miles a day! What a thought! Comets, suns and worlds sweeping swift as thought through space, and darting here and there like sand-dust in the arms of the hurricane!

How the heart swells as we gaze upon those rolling worlds that sweep their course through heaven's unfathomable depths, bathing their restless forms in the spray of infinity's shoreless sea; or watch the comet's swift-winged speed, as on it sweeps, proud in its incomparable grandeur, wrapping itself in its fiery mantle and folding its vapor-cloak about its form, playing amid the forked lightning's flash, far distant in the thunder's home, and sweeping swift as thought past worlds unseen, guided by unerring law! How quick the reluctant heart will beat, and our giddy fancy reel, as out through space the anxious eye still wanders on unsatisfied! Here, comets burn; there, suns dazzle in meridian splendor; while all about the stars look down from heaven like chandeliers that light infinity.

Such is the wonderful regularity of all these countless systems, that not a planet shoots from its orbit—not a comet wavers in its course. No crash of systems or war of worlds was ever known. They all obey a geometric law, and run with mathematical precision. Age on age still witnesses the same, and centuries but confirm the truth that Law holds all in its embrace, and guides alike the comet's course and the lightning's untamed flash.

I wonder if all those countless worlds are peopled by men and women like ourselves? I wonder if they burn with passions, melt with sympathy, or are ever incensed with rage? I wonder if wars are there, where men butcher each other for idle play? I wonder if slavery curses those fair worlds, as it has blighted ours? I wonder if their faces are darkened by fraud and crime?—if their soils are steeped in blood and tears wrung from the hearts of outraged innocence? Have they a Rome? a Spain? a Europe? Have they priestcraft or kingcraft?—the inquisition or the gallows? Oh! Spirit of Nature, answer No! This world is enough to bear their curse. It has groaned beneath it long. Rivers of tears have washed it o'er, and lives unnumbered in pain have gone. I wonder whether to other worlds our own is bright or black? Ah, yes! 'tis bright! our world is pure as they. It is only the frenzied fires of passion that have driven the human heart to madness.

"We'll labor for a better time,

With all our might of press or pen;

Believe me, 'tis a truth sublime—

'This world is worthy better men!"

And it will one day have them, too.

SAMUEL PHELPS LELAND.

June 2, 1862.

God and Slavery.

Friends:—What and where is God? Seeing that several of the *NEW REPUBLIC* contributors use the term God in the same sense, apparently, that it has generally been used, namely, in the supernatural sense—the sense of an all-wise, all-powerful being—while I do not wish to dispute with any one in regard to their belief in a God, I wish to express the opinion that if words are used in the same way as heretofore, people will remain in the same ignorance.

What is nature? and where is Nature? Is it not everything? Is it not all-powerful? Is it not the Universe? Is it not self-made and self-existent? Does it need a guardian? So long as people need gods or guardians for Nature, so long they will need gods or guardians for themselves, and will continue in slavery, which is nothing more nor less than sin. And pray what is sin or slavery but wrong doing? Then talk of abolishing slavery! It will not be done

in this age. You may prevent the black from being chattelized.

Attraction and repulsion is the incentive to action. What in your individual case is the surest incentive to the performance of good deeds? Attraction, say you; but my neighbor—he is so bad that nothing but force will do for him!

Land Monopoly is slavery. We have plenty of it at the North. Then begin at home by abolishing Land Monopoly, and you will grow out of all slavery. Land Monopoly is the principle cause of all slavery, and the greatest curse of the human family; and we are right in the midst of it. I can see no good cause why we should kill off our neighbors because they are in the same predicament.

My advice to you, friends, is, if you would do good, begin at home. Our acts now are not good. War is sin—slavery. Do you presume to get out of slavery by plunging into it? I know that those who have no higher knowledge must and will fight. Do you put yourselves in that class? I have been in this class. For the sake of Nature (not God) and humanity, let us get out of it. Do you ask how? I will tell you, and stake my life on the result, that the plan if put in practice will do it. Bring a bill before the people to limit the quantity of land any individual may acquire, after the bill is sanctioned by the people. I think a majority would sanction it at this time. Now is the time to move in the matter, while the people are looking for something better. AARON EVANS.

Our Destiny.

Events are hurrying forward with the rush and the might of destiny. A very few weeks, a very few days, perhaps, may decide whether the Nation is to live or die—whether it is to live entire, or be hewn into two unsightly fragments. If the attempt to save the Union and to save Slavery at the same time be persevered in, we believe that the Union will go down under the pressure of Slavery. We know that the success of such an attempt would be but a temporary armistice to the rebellion, to be broken when it had gathered strength again. We are sure that the head and heart of the Nation is right and sound on this question. The great mass of the Northern people, of the virtue, the intelligence, the wealth, the industry of the Nation, long for the word of deliverance which they feel will pronounce their own emancipation as well as that of the slaves. We trust that Mr. Lincoln will not let slip the golden moment, but be found equal to the glorious necessity. It lies in his power to make his Administration the most illustrious and beneficent of all recorded in our annals.—[Anti-Slavery Standard,

"Compromises and Compromisers."

To the Editor of the New Republic:—

In your review of my remarks under the foregoing head, your language is that of misapprehension, as to the full force and meaning of my language, when you say: "Our friend Murray suggests that President Lincoln ought to be superseded." My sentence, on which your statement of my position must be principally based, closed with—"unless he can do better than he has done." He is waiting to be moved by the people. So he has given them to understand. So it is claimed by his supporters. I, as only one of the people, offer my views and sentiments for his consideration, and that of others. That is all. His modification of Hunter has not given me any more favorable opinion of his fitness for his place.

You say: "We do not vote for such men as Lincoln, much less for such as Seward." Afterward you say: "In his sphere he [Lincoln] is a great and good man.—He is God-appointed to fill an important post in the transition." May I ask at this point whether or not you vote at all? If you do, the next question would be, to know how you expect to do better, in voting, than to vote for a great and good man—God-appointed?

Will you bear with me in a little further inquiry? I would like to know the significance of your language, when you speak of any man, or any thing, as "God-appointed." Perspicuity in the use of language is certainly a great matter. Don't understand me as faulting you, if I think you at any time, in any manner or degree, fail of it. You would be very far from being alone in such failure. It is my desire, in using language, to be understood; and, in reading the language of others, to understand them.

The question comes up to know whether you consider President Lincoln a great and good man because he has been God-appointed—or whether you consider he has been God-appointed because he is a great and good man? Or is it both? Or is it neither? Following this, comes the question to know whether or not you think James Buchanan and Jefferson Davis to have been "God-appointed to fill important posts in the transition"? If yes—then are they great and good men because God-appointed? If no—if they are great and *bad* men, though God-appointed—what significance, I pray you tell me, has your God-appointment? Is your God at once the author of all evil and the author of all good, in accordance with the teaching of a certain book? Then what of the doctrine elsewhere taught in the same book, that "a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand"?

I will not press you for answers to all these questions, or any of them. If you will give them a place in print, that they may serve as "food for thought," I shall be satisfied, gratified and thankful—whether you answer them or not.

You say: "The great Wisdom would not have even a Fremont in his [Lincoln's] place." Now, if I understand you, the same "great Wisdom" would not have any "great and good man" in the place of Jefferson Davis, or of any other conspirator and usurper. I know nothing about such "great Wisdom." Have never seen a particle of demonstration, or the least evidence, of its existence. To me, it is a misnaming of things, which leads to leaving undone what needs to be done. It implies control with design. And this implies power to do or not to do. And this implies liability to utter unbridled of all nature, at any moment and all the while. The inevitable—the relations of things—I can be reconciled to, and can co-operate with, for the creation of controlling circumstances, to the displacing of the evil with the good.

You say: "I will speak and feel kindly of Lincoln." "If it be possible, as much as I can in me, I will do the same, toward him and all other beings, whether in possession of more or less power, to do good or to do harm. But I have been wont, for some length of time past, to reverse the commonly received idea of accountability. I hold the accountability to be where the power is. This makes me reject your idea of "the great Wisdom," controlling with design. I don't believe a word in the propriety of controlling, for the pleasure of the controller, at the expense of the controlled, just because there is power to control. I hold that parents are accountable to children—controllers to controlled—throughout. When Jefferson Davis sets himself up chief champion and guardian of a barbarous and barbarizing institution, let him be treated accordingly. When Abraham Lincoln displaces Jefferson Davis, and assumes this championship and guardianship, let Abraham Lincoln be treated accordingly. Slavery is dangerous enough, demoralizing enough, destructive enough, in the hands of a man deemed to be a great and bad man. It is more dangerous, more demoralizing, more destructive, in the hands of a man deemed to be "a great and good man." More still, in proportion as it is deemed that this "great and good man," in this great and bad matter, is under the control of "the great Wisdom." The putting of Slavery into our Constitution—or the allowing of it to be put there—and thus imposing it upon us, by men deemed to have been great and good men, has had much to do with bringing on us this destruction.

You think "the present does not need agitators,"—while the sympathizers with Slavery in the North, who joined the Republicans in making the "North a unit" to fight Slavery's battles in the name of Freedom, are now electing two members of the House in Congress, as often as their opponents are electing one; and in Ohio the chances are that they will displace Wade in the Senate;—and the slaveholding and Slavery-advocating Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, D. D., comes out of Kentucky into Ohio, and makes his appeals in Cincinnati and Columbus to have—"Our country as we had it—our constitutions as they were"—and the people of Ohio shout, "Great is Breckinridge's Deliverance";—and the Rev. W. G. Brownlow, another slaveholder and advocate of Slavery, comes up from Tennessee, and tells the people of the Free States he wants the "Abolitionists hung, their bodies buried in a ditch, and their souls sent to hell,"—and the multitude that throng him applaud him immensely for such utterances, and say so let it be.

While such agitation is going on, it appears to me that something of counter agitation is not out of place—especially while the agitation for Slavery prevails with the Administration.

[But I will not be a further "agitator" this time, than to ask indulgence with another brief extract from a letter to a friend—as follows:—]

May 30, 1862.—You wish to know my present views of the War, and of President Lincoln.

It is my painful conviction that the managers of the war are bent on keeping it an affair of *politics*, as much as is in their power. They don't want Slavery abolished; and don't mean to have it abolished, if they can prevent. Hence the modification of Fremont and Hunter. What is President Lincoln waiting for? He has virtually conceded that the power is constitutionally his to abolish Slavery. He has allowed the leading Republican journals to claim for him that he has already intimated his intention to exercise that power *if* he finds *occasion*. The question arises then to know what more needs to be done to furnish him occasion? What, on the part of Slavery or of slaveholders? Is any evidence wanting of their intention to overthrow the Government, and to suppress freedom on this continent? Is it needed that they manifest more of barbarity, atrocity, and shocking inhumanity? How much more of blood and treasure will suffice? What acts of malignity and brutality can be conceived of, that these offenders have not already resorted to and perpetrated?

Well, it being granted that there is *power* to abolish Slavery; and it being granted that Slavery has done every conceivable thing that is atrocious,

abominable and brutal, against the Government and the cause and the friends of freedom, giving *occasion* for its abolishment; what inch of ground has the President left to stand upon? *No other than that of a politician*. Not a foot of ground as a philanthropist. Not an inch of ground as a sustainer of righteousness. No particle of ground as a statesman. No ground at all as a *man*.

Our war is carried on *politically*—not righteously, nor morally, not yet manfully. Our war is carried on *politically*—not patriotically. Genuine patriotism is genuine love of one's country. No genuine lover of his country wants Slavery in it. He who wants Slavery is not a genuine patriot. Slavery is a curse to any country—to any people. The man who is moved by the genuine passion to serve his country, and has the power to put Slavery out of it, will promptly, persistently, energetically, make it his paramount purpose to address himself to that work.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

How Shall We Rate Them?

Old institutions—these arts, libraries, legends, collections—will we rate them so high?

Will we rate our cash and business high? I have no objection,

I rate them high as the highest—then a child born of a woman and man I rate beyond all rate.

We thought our Union grand, and our Constitution grand,

I do not say they are not grand and good, for they are,

I am this day just as much in love with them as you,

Then I am in love with you, and with all my fellows upon the earth.

We consider bibles and religions divine—I do not say they are not divine,

I say they have all grown out of you, and may grow out of you still,

It is not they who give the life—it is you who give the life,

Leaves are not more shed from the trees, or trees from the earth, than they are shed from you.

—[Walt Whitman.

If God has given to usages and customs growing out of the passion of love so much influence over the social mechanism and the changes to which it may be subjected, it is owing to his horror of oppression and violence. It is his wish that the happiness or unhappiness of human societies be proportioned to the amount of liberty or constraint which they permit.—[Fourier.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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The Union.

What is "union"? What but a unity of feeling, purpose, aspiration, interest, faith? Is there, has there been, such a union between the North and South? If not, how soon, at the present rate of progress, is there likely to be? The question is not, when the South is likely to be subdued—that may be in a few months—but when there is likely to be existing between the two sections, any of those feelings and relations, not only so desirable, but absolutely necessary to a union of any value to either party? A prospect could not well be more discouraging.

Now the great question, of more practical importance to the country, at this moment, than any other, is in regard to the principles which underlie unions between countries, sections, states, or individuals. For it must be evident that the same essential principles govern in all cases. Unions of states, unions or associations of men in business, unions of men and women in conjugal relations, are all governed by the same principles. President Lincoln once said that our Union was not a free-love affair, but an indissoluble marriage. He was right. The Union was constructed on the same principle as governs our popular marriage, that of indissolubility. There is, however, a sprinkling of free love in the popular marriage, for provision is made for separation in certain cases; but there is none of it in the Government, none whatever. An "eternal love" between the North and South was counted on when the Union was formed, and no provision whatever made for any such contingency as a discontinuance of that love, but on the other hand abundant and efficient arrangements for enforcing it in the event of its waning! Now with all due deference to the idea of enforced constancy, it must be admitted that there is little wisdom in looking for good results from a union of any sort, where the bond is an arbitrary one. Let it be admitted that there is no genuine sympathy and unity of feeling between the North and South, and the question of union or disunion is no longer a question. It is folly from which men will some time cease—attempting to enforce union where there is none.

What, then, is the object of the war? The Government means it to enforce the Union, without a

doubt. A large majority of the people have the same view. If this were its only object, if it were otherwise unnecessary, it should have no prayer of mine. No war, carried on simply and solely for the subjugation, or bringing back into a hated alliance, an unwilling people, deserves anything from honest men, but execration. But I do not so regard this war.

The Union was formed and entered into on the part of the North and South in good faith. All the principles that govern alliances demand that the expectations warranted by that alliance be met in good faith. Did the South perform its part of the stipulations? Was it true to the understanding? Far otherwise. I do not claim that a pledge of eternal unity, on the part of states or individuals, can possibly be binding. Because the South agreed, tacitly at least, to an eternal union with the North, it does not follow that such an agreement was binding. A pledge of unity which depends upon certain essential conditions beyond the control of the party making the pledge, can never be binding; much less can one generation pledge another generation to an arrangement which may prove burdensome and hateful.

The fault of the South is, not that an alliance with the North is not considered desirable—not that decisive steps have been taken to sever that alliance, but that those steps have been taken irregularly and lawlessly, and the rights of other parties recklessly trampled under foot. I regard the war, or at least a war, between the North and South, as absolutely necessary, as a defensive measure on the part of the North. Saying nothing about the rights of the slaves, there is no other way to secure even a decent respect for right and order, on the part of the South, than for them to be thoroughly subdued in a (to them) ruinous and crushing war. The idea of bringing the slaveholders back into the Union, to which they have always been a tax, a disgrace and a scourge, is the ultimatum of folly. I believe in the Union; and it is that I pray for the Union as I pray for no other temporal good, that I wish that the proposition to keep Slavery and slaveholders in it, were abandoned!

The Union—the real Union, the Union that is—is not one of parchments, not one held together by arbitrary bonds! A written constitution may be well, but will written constitutions save us? Has the Constitution saved us? Rather, have not certain features of it well nigh ruined us? What is the Constitution? What but the expression of certain glorious and saving principles, on which our salvation depends, and which are in themselves all that we need pray, or work, or contend for; coupled with iniquitous falsehood and injustice that has nigh if not quite made shipwreck of the Nation's interests and hopes? If the Constitution cannot be purged of this iniquity, let the Constitution cease to be revered; let honest men who believe in the Eternal Right, cease to make efforts to save it.

What we want, then, is a union of all the elements not in their essential nature at war with each other. All the fundamental principles of the Government, as laid down by Jefferson, and Paine, and Franklin, —all of the valuable features of the old Constitution, should be taken as the basis of the organization. Based on living and saving principle—on integrity, and manhood, and devotion to right on the part of the people, to the exclusion of all false and pernicious influences, it cannot fail of being a glorious success.

But what shall we do with the South? So far as and whenever the South, or any part of it, through any influences, forcible or otherwise, shall exhibit a fraternal and loyal spirit, let the wide doors of our political Temple be thrown open to receive them. Until then we can sustain hardly any other relation to them than to tribes of hostile indians, or pirates on the high seas. Our policy will be to let them alone, so far as safety will allow, and chastise them into a decent respect for rights, so far as it proves necessary.

A Few Questions Answered.

The points in Friend Murray's Critique are well made. I should think so if I had made them. I stand corrected. So pleased am I with his presentation of the question, that I care little to make any reply; indeed I do not propose to reply to, or comment upon, much that appears in these columns, even of what appears to me eminently liable to criticism, much less what is in keeping with my own thoughts and arguments of the last fifteen years. Let us have, now, no cowardice. Why care to have recorded any but manly utterances. Let us look all questions in the face.

What of God, the "God-appointed," and "the Great Wisdom"? A few years ago I would not have used the terms. The only excuse now is that views have so changed that the same terms are used to represent entirely new ideas. People do not now believe in the same kind of Gods, Heavens, or Hells, as formerly. All these terms are very generally applied to ideas entirely consistent with rational views. How many now, even of church members, believe in the gods of the barbarous ages, or the burning hells of former days? These ideas have had their day and use; the terms may still be used to represent goodness, power, happiness, misery.

I believe in the eternity of matter, and in the eternity of law or principle. Self-existent matter, or, rather, eternally-existent matter, is naturally and inevitably connected with eternally-existent law or principle. These acting together develop forms, or organizations. Of these intelligence comes—no other ways. Intelligence is never a primary cause, always an effect. Intelligence is always the result of organization, and organization always the effect of the action of eternally-existing law or principle upon

eternally-existing matter. As matter and law are inseparable—as law always inheres in matter, the latter may in a sense be said to be self-acting.

Is there a God? If eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent, self-existent law, is what you mean by the term, I answer yes—not otherwise. Anything less than the self-existing, self-acting Universe of principle and matter, is finite. All beings are finite, none of them gods, though many of them, next to infinite numbers of them, almost infinitely beyond any mortal's idea of God. These are all human, and yet Divine. They are not above thinking kindly of Earth and her children, and not too busy, many of them, to take part in the management of its affairs.

Who is "God-appointed"? Every man who is acting a part in the Universal Drama! I believe in none of the small gods—I believe in the Universe that has no waste material, and that has for all its parts a use.

"The Great Wisdom" is to me an expression full of glorious poetry. By it do I mean a being? Do not think so—why should I? If children are listening to us, it is well to adapt our language to their comprehension. For this reason I admit the force of Friend Murray's criticism. But you would speak of the "highest wisdom," without being thought to mean an arbitrary God. Yet a little while and the children will all be men!

Why not vote for Lincoln, if God-appointed? There are many things in this Universe to be done—and all by God-appointment—which are not for me to do. Is the question answered?

I do not believe in "control with design" in the management of the great affairs; but I do believe in a great Wisdom, tried by which certain things may be seen to be for the best. I believe in no arbitrary, finite gods, but I do believe in universal adaptation, and that things never get out of joint, and that the great Wisdom is always satisfied.

Let me be understood. Terms mean what they are understood to mean. My admission, then, amounts to this: that I may have used terms in a way to be misunderstood. So far my language is exceptionable, so far I correct it.

Save the Ink!

We are still in the receipt of not a little "poetry." Now all of our readers are sensible—not a doubt of it; being our readers is proof of that—but it is very unwise to send us poetry. Poetry needs nothing so much as APPRECIATION, and it could not possibly be sent to a place where appreciation is more scarce. It hurts our feelings to think of it, for appreciation, in our esteem, is one of the cardinal virtues. Poetry, to be appreciated, must be read; and we cannot possibly get time from other more pressing duties, to read half that is sent to us. So don't send it. It is a great waste of ink, to say nothing of the wear and tear of goose quills.

The Protection of Society from Crime.

BY W. BYRD POWELL, M. D.

THE AUTHOR'S MOTTO.—NATURE is the source of all laws, and her laws are founded in wisdom: consequently, they are immutable in action, and universal in application. Society should enforce those that pertain to itself, and all that it does beyond this is tyranny and outrage.

PREFACE.

The subject of the following chapters on the protection of society from crime, I have had under consideration forty years, and have arrived at an undoubting conviction that the leading or fundamental principle of the doctrine they develop is true, and that crime will abound in our land, without abatement, until this principle shall become the guide to all criminal legislation. The fact has become apparent that all civilized peoples have risen above the source of their criminal codes of laws, and one of two movements has become necessary, viz: the people must become retrograded, or the fundamental principle of our criminal law must be elevated. The tendency of the popular mind is to take the execution of the laws out of those hands in which legislation has placed it, as is indicated by the formation of vigilance committees, or, in other words, that tendency to anarchy which is becoming manifest in all sections of our country.

Our criminal laws are not founded in any principle of human nature, and hence they fail to protect society. The leading principles of our criminal laws, if principles they have, had their origin in man's animal or savage state, before his human nature become so developed as to obtain a controlling influence over him.

The fundamental idea or principle of criminal law is penalty or punishment, and there is no human faculty to suggest such an idea; it is entirely animal in its origin. And it originated at a time, too, when the most advanced of our species were in a less advanced condition than are our Western savages; the human nature of whom is only in a rudimental state. There is no difference of principle between the criminal jurisprudence of any savage people and that of the most civilized. This principle, and all the practice that results from it, must be abandoned; otherwise there can be no farther advancement in civilization.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS IN RELATION TO THE PROTECTION OF SOCIETY FROM CRIME.

A numerous class of the mental faculties are denominated animal, because they are common to all the species and varieties of the inferior animals, but they are as proper to man as to any of the inferior animals; indeed, he is even more highly endowed with them than is any one of the inferior animals, and hence as an animal he is superior to all others; the animal or savage man is the monarch of the for-

est; and yet the difference between him and the animals of the forest is only one of quantity and not of quality, with this exception—he has in a rudimental state another class of faculties, which are denominated the human faculties; and this class is divisible into four sub-classes, viz: the reflecting, the social, the sustaining (usually denominated the religious), and the moral.

It was the animal class of faculties that suggested punishment as a remedy for delinquency to criminal law; and this remedy was addressed to an animal faculty, the sentiment of fear, which is as proper to the dog as to man. In the animal faculties, then, we have the whole spirit of our criminal legislation; it is as exclusively animal as if man were a four-footed beast; it does not reach his human nature in a single point. Our legislation in reference to crime indicates no difference in principle between civilized and savage life. Can any sane man wonder, in view of the preceding facts, that criminal legislation has ever failed to protect society from crime?

As an illustration of this subject I will present a canine manifestation of our criminal laws.

Dogs have in common with man the instinct of property, and hence when a dog has more food than his present appetite demands, he stores it away for some future occasion; but if in the meantime he detects another dog stealing, he seizes and shakes him, and then permits him to depart, without any assurance that he is any more honest, but with the reflection that he has sufficiently punished him to make him fear to do so again. The delinquent, however, proves not to be a fearful dog, and seeks another opportunity to obtain the coveted treasure; but again the proprietor detects him in the act of stealing it, and thinking him an incorrigible dog, again seizes him and throttles him to death.

Wherein does this differ from our civilized administration of criminal law? We shall see.

Mr. A., not being in fear of the laws, steals a horse; society sends its big dog, the sheriff, after him; he is arrested, and after some civilized formalities, the sheriff is commanded to take him to the stocks and whip him with a raw-hide on his denuded back, and then discharge him, without any evidence that he is in anywise reformed, but it is thought he should at least fear to do so again. Nothing is done to awaken his dormant humanity—he is treated simply as an animal. His animal nature still governing him, he is tempted to shoot a man on the highway, for his horse and purse. The same big dog, the sheriff, is commanded to secure him; he obeys, and after some civilized proceedings, the sheriff is commanded to throttle him to death, which he does, with a rope.

I would like to meet with the jurist who can distinguish a difference of principle between the canine administration of criminal law, and that of civilized man.

As I have been unable to detect any difference.

and as I have never doubted that human nature is superior to animal nature, and that the former should govern the latter, and that as our criminal legislation has no application to the former, hence many years since I was forced to the conclusion that our criminal legislation is all an error, and that it should have in reference to man an exclusive application to his human nature.

Both the justice and expediency of capital punishment has been agitated in every civilized portion of the world; its abolition has been strongly recommended, and as strongly opposed; but so far as my reading has extended, the abolition of all punishment for any and every species and variety of crime, or delinquency, has not been advocated, or even suggested, by any one. This is my position for all civilized communities, and for all persons whose faculties elevate them above the brute creation.

It will, I presume, be admitted that society never has obtained adequate protection by any system or code of punishments that has ever been adopted; and yet their variety has been as great and as severe as the inventive genius of the Devil could render them; and I will attempt to show that because of the laws inherent in the constitution of man, such a result is not possible; and lastly, I will develop a means by which society can be protected, and to which even the idea of penalty or punishment cannot be correctly attached.

From my knowledge of the constitution of the human mind, I feel fully assured that as ninety per cent. of my readers shall reach the conclusion of the preceding paragraph, they will arouse their animal faculties, educational prepossessions and prejudices, to resist every argument I may present in its support; simply because their animal nature obtains a high degree of pleasurable excitement from the penal inflictions of others. Under such a conviction as this, some may marvel that I venture to announce such a doctrine.

My explanation of the fact is this: I would sooner announce a truth that would offend every member of society, than an untruth that would please every one; and further, I have an abiding faith that truth, when once put in motion, will never again acquire a state of rest—that it is the only perpetual motive power that man will know; and hence, if the tenth or twentieth part of one per cent. of my readers shall embrace it, the time will in due season arrive when it will be received, acknowledged and adopted by all the peoples of the earth.

Under such a conviction, would it be just to myself or my species for me to withhold a truth because it is new, or will probably be resisted by the prejudices of the mass of the present generation, although it should subject me to the charge of folly by an almost unanimous conviction of society?

When I feel myself to be securely mailed with truth, I feel that I have the power to conquer a more glorious freedom and a greater happiness to the en-

tire world; and that, too, in defiance of the chains, prisons, men and artillery of all the despots of the earth combined.

Are my readers disposed to suspect me of having a large endowment of self-confidence? If they be, they do me great injustice, for I have but little in myself; but I have that which I most devoutly wish all people had—namely, a thorough, and therefore an undoubting, confidence in the eternity, immutability and omnipotency of truth. If all people had this, we would have no crime.

Are my readers disposed to inquire how I know that I have got the truth? I respond, when I find a thousand or more facts converging to a single point, I am just as certain that truth is there, as I am that light is where I perceive a thousand or more rays of light concentrated to a point. Am I again asked how I know that truth always results from a convergence of facts, as light does from that of the sun's rays? I answer, by the experience of the past—by having in this way, in common with all philosophers, discovered that God's providence in mind, as in matter, is governed by fixed, determinate and unchangeable laws or rules of action; that a fact is not true to-day and false to-morrow—true in this country and false in Europe—true in Winter and false in Summer, but always true, and always indicating the law that governs it.

Inasmuch as my position is that of hostility to all penalties or punishments, it may be suspected by some that I am one of those philanthropists who can not even think of bloodshed without fainting. If any such there be, I hope they will feel relieved when I assure them that my leading or governing motive is the protection of society. My fundamental proposition is, SOCIETY MUST HAVE PROTECTION. The main question, then, is, How can it be effected with the greatest certainty? To this question, all others are subordinate, secondary, or merely incidental.

Everything about which we can think is governed by law. Man, being both animal and automatic in his organization, has both classes of his functions governed by an extensive class of laws which inhere in him; physiological delinquency to these laws subjects him to various forms of disease, and finally death; and as he constitutes an element of the physical world, like all other bodies, he is, in common with them, placed in relation to another law of extensive application—that of gravitation; delinquency to which subjects him to bruises, broken bones and death. Nevertheless, by a proper observance of all these laws, the highest excellence of organization, the greatest longevity, and also the greatest possible degree of happiness, are produced.

For the discovery of these laws, and their various modes of action, adequate intellectual ability was given to us, and our desire of existence and of happiness are, in properly constituted minds, ample motives to insure obedience.

We find, furthermore, that in this providence,

general rather than special results were intended; classes rather than orders; genera rather than species; species rather than varieties; pluralities rather than individualities. It is therefore better for the race that all of those laws should be observed, than that they should be abrogated, even for a moment, for the purpose of saving millions of individualities. In other words, those laws in their action presume every creature to know them, and in knowing them, to observe them.

Such an acquaintance with and obedience to those laws have not as yet been had as is essential to the good of our race; consequently, disease, degradation, degeneracy, fractured skulls, broken legs, and premature death, greatly abound. That suffering which is found to be consequent upon delinquency to those laws, has hitherto been regarded as a penalty or punishment.

The New Republic.

Dear Editor and Contributors:—Allow me in heart, by way of the pen, to shake the hand of fellowship with you all in your efforts to reform the world, especially in matters of individual, social and civil government. Although we have several other noble reform papers, (two in particular, the Herald and Banner,) yet we need the radical voice of the **NEW REPUBLIC** for a pioneer—a kind of stone-splitter, stump-puller, breaking-up-plough, to clear the way for these more common utensils of field culture which help to smooth off and pulverize the soil and make earth a garden. Yours is a paper, I think, that will not round off the square edges of truth, or forbid that rugged criticism which presents both sides, and both extremes if need be, of all important questions on which the public mind is doubtful or unthinking,—a paper too much in love with exact truth to listen to the voice of popularity or worldly policy. Therefore I venture to dip my unpopular, impolitic pen, which will ever, in spite of all my chidings, persist in calling things by their right names, and in talking of things as they are. I live “away down East,” yet thank good fortune, I am not quite out of New England, which wiser heads than mine have styled the head, if not the heart of America. Yet New England in my view has many gigantic evils which need to be uprooted; and your paper, it seems to me, is well calculated to do it. The few numbers already received, taking the value of ideas into the account, have doubly and trebly compensated for the price of the first volume. The paper on which it is printed is extra, and its form and size very convenient. It can be easily bound at the end of the year, and preserved for reference and study or for circulation. Its prospectus is enough to recommend it to every whole-souled reformer East or West. The most of

its contributions are full of earnest, independent and important thought.

The contributions of W. Byrd Powell I consider extremely worthy. His discovery and application of the natural laws of marriage, do, or will, render him a great benefactor of his race; and I am glad of this opportunity to give my testimony in his favor. I have been a practical phrenologist for the last twenty years, constantly observing the tendencies of human nature, and I have long since come to the conclusion that, above all other considerations, parties of like temperaments, and even like shaped heads, should never marry, unless they are willing either to die childless, or put up with inferior children. I can call to mind any number of instances in proof of this law. Indeed I never saw in my life a tall, narrow-chested, broad-brained, high-headed, black-haired pair, that ever produced any promising children. There is one pair of this sort who live within a stone's throw of my own house, who have had, although they are young, four children, all of whom died before they were two years old, with dropsy on the brain. Another pair who have sighed all their life-time for even one living child, however puny, but in vain. And it is equally disastrous, I have found, with other temperaments in extremes, no matter how healthy the parents. There must be, there is, a law controlling these things. And the world may be more indebted to Powell for its discovery and application than anybody else; and generations yet unborn may rise up and call him blessed, as they already have Gall, Harvey, and Jesus. The application of this great law will do more to bring about the true Millennium than all the Bibles and “Gospel Ministers” in God's world. The “Millennium” could never take place in any extensive sense without it. Every unmarried man and woman ought to be made acquainted with it.

Jesus, according to the old record, which I have no reason to dispute, said to the old Pharisees, “Ye must be born again,” and I have no doubt but what his auditors needed a second birth, because they were so miserably born the first time: but let a man be born from the application of the physical and social laws discovered by Powell, and the second birth would be a misnomer and entirely unnecessary—for as the old proverb has it, “Anything well done is twice done.” Those long faced ministers who go mourning all their days for fear that that they or somebody else will get into hell, who call me a bold infidel, because I speak the truth right in their faces, and will not basely bend the knee to their unholy God, ask me to “come to Jesus,” seek the “new birth,” and become a Christian. I tell them that I am a natural born Christian, and that God has hundreds and thousands of such in the world, and that they are as much superior to church-made saints, as healthy common sense is to sickly, dyspeptic sentimentalism.

D. H. HAMILTON.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The NEW REPUBLIC has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammelled manner, but in no partizan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reforms, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes; the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the NEW REPUBLIC will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the

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